

lived with their wives and children, and not all of which had royal headmen. The system of 'heads' disappeared, at least in the Ngoni group with which we are most concerned, and within their regiments men were grouped in terms of their place in the residential system. [178 621 701]

3. *Foundation of the State*

The Nguni chiefdoms of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were, according to all accounts, comparatively small. There were many of them and they were unstable. After about 1775 the pattern of political alignment began to alter and larger states appeared. By 1810 three kingdoms, the Mthethwa, Ndandwe and Qwabe,⁶ dominated the rest and in 1818 Zwide, king of the Ndandwe, whose territory was in what is now northern Zululand, killed the Mthethwa king. He then turned his attention to Shaka, an Mthethwa by political affiliation who had conquered his kinsmen the Qwabe and had become the effective leader of the Mthethwa kingdom. Unfortunately for Zwide, he was defeated in 1819 by Shaka and thereupon the Ndandwe kingdom broke up. Some segments became part of Shaka's expanding State, others moved off to the north. About 1821⁷ Zwangendaba, who had been for a time a sub-chief of Zwide, led a party of refugees north-eastwards into the region of Delagoa Bay. The route probably taken by Zwangendaba and his followers, and by other Ngoni groups, is shown in Map A. Near Delagoa Bay Zwangendaba found Soshangane, a classificatory brother of Zwide,⁸ fighting with Nxaba, another minor chief, both of them refugees like Zwangendaba from the rising power of Shaka. All three parties raided the indigenous Tsonga peoples and made captives fight alongside their new masters. [173 643 716 720 727]

Zwangendaba quarrelled with Soshangane and moved on farther north. He took with him his new Tsonga adherents and also some small groups of Swazi and related peoples who had fled independently from Shaka and who now placed themselves under [173 167]

⁶ I do not claim any consistency in my spelling of indigenous names and other words. As far as possible I have endeavoured to follow Atkins, 'Spelling Nyanja'. However I have written the unaspirated post-alveolar affricative in its old form *ch* whenever the new form *c* might be confused with the radical dental click consonant represented by *c* in Zulu. [104]

⁷ Cf. Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 459. He is followed by Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 5, 17, 71. Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 77, 84, gives 1823 and Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 13, has 1823 or 1824. Young, *History*, p. 109, and Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 8, both have 1823. Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 272, says Zwangendaba left in 1829, while Coxhead, *Native tribes*, p. 20, says he left in the 1850's.

⁸ For the exact relationship between Soshangane and Zwide, see Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 161, 279, 454.

[Text continues on page 9]

173 parts of the segment, namely segments 2, 3 and 19, survived as
613 independent inferior segments within segment 1. The lieutenant
575 in charge of the warriors spared the pregnant queen and hid her.
643 She bore a son, Ntutu Mpezeni, and later was shown to Zwangendaba who received her kindly and, according to Chibambo, ordered her to live with her son in the headquarters of segment 1. She was not in charge of a bevy of wives, and as by this time the great wife was dead, the bevy in segment 3 now became Zwangendaba's senior bevy. Mwambere, eldest son of the leader of this bevy, was thus a candidate for the main heirship but owing to the disappearance of segment 18 and the subsequent reconciliation between Zwangendaba and Mpezeni's mother, the relative status of the two sons was uncertain. This uncertainty may have been one of the precipitating causes in the subsequent break-up of the State.

[114] Rangeley's version of this incident is that after he had been shown Mpezeni, Zwangendaba ordered the headquarters of segment 18 to be rebuilt. This seems less likely to be true than the version we have followed, since there is, as far as I know, no present-day village which we can identify as the headquarters of this segment.²⁰

173 From Delagoa Bay, Zwangendaba went up the Limpopo
167 Valley into Mashonaland. He fought with Kalanga and other
721 Shona peoples and there was renewed fighting with other refugee groups under Soshangane and Nxaba. In 1835 Zwangendaba's group crossed over to the north side of the River Zambezi near Zumbo and settled in Nsenga country for four years. They moved on again along the eastern rim of the Luangwa basin and eventually arrived in about 1842 in Ufipa, on the east side of Lake Tanganyika. Here in about 1845 Zwangendaba died.

114 Two points of historical detail may be mentioned here. There is reliable
173 evidence for a raid made on a Portuguese fort at Delagoa Bay on 22 October 1833
167 by some of Soshangane's people.²¹ Poole and Winterbottom state explicitly that
721 Zwangendaba's men also took part in this attack, and Lancaster seems to imply the same. According to the chronology adopted by Young and by Poole himself Zwangendaba was at this time four hundred and fifty miles away in the Kalanga country of Southern Rhodesia and it therefore seems unlikely, though not impossible, that he participated in this raid. Elmslie, Young and Chibambo do not mention it at all, and Bryant refers only to Soshangane's part in it.

A few years after Zwangendaba left Natal, he was followed by Mxilikazi, a chief who for a while fought under Shaka and then fled from him with his followers.

²⁰ Winterbottom, 'Angoni paramountcy', pp. 126f; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 26f; Rangeley, 'Mtswalo', pp. 58f.

²¹ Theal, *Portuguese in South Africa*, pp. 279f.

They became known as the Rhodesian Ndebele or Matabele. Posselt, who worked among them, does not record in their history any fight with Zwangendaba, nor do Elmslie, Bryant, Young or Chibambo. Money and Smith say that it is a matter of doubt whether or not Zwangendaba met Mzilikazi. However, Wiese, who states that Zwangendaba broke away from Mzilikazi, says that there was a fight between them. Lancaster writes that there was a fight on the Transvaal border in 1828 before the raid of 1833. Poole makes this fight take place in about 1833 and writes of the Ngoni at that time living in the vicinity of modern Bulawayo and raiding Mzilikazi in the Transvaal. If we are to accept the existence of contact between Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi at all, either of these two versions is preferable to that of Winterbottom, who implies that after taking part in the 1833 raid at Delagoa Bay, Zwangendaba moved to the vicinity of Bulawayo where he met Mzilikazi, only to move on to the Zambezi in 1835. Winterbottom crowds into two years more marching and fighting than seems likely to have taken place. There is also conclusive evidence, set out by Posselt, that Mzilikazi did not leave the Transvaal under Boer pressure until about 1838.

If Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi were not living side by side, the suggestion by Lancaster and Winterbottom that they quarrelled about a dog is unlikely to be correct. There may be confusion here with the story, recorded by Field and Rangeley, of a quarrel between Mpezeni and Mwambara over their dogs.²¹

6. Fission

Various writers describe three occasions on which, according to their accounts, dissident sections broke off from the main body of Ngoni prior to Zwangendaba's death. Our view is that only one of these secessions actually took place, and that it was relatively unimportant.

The first allegedly dissident group is that sometimes known as the Maseko Ngoni, now dwelling in the region round Mount Domwe, on both sides of the border between southern Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa. Murray, Young, Hatchell, Poole and Bruwer state that after crossing the River Zambezi together, the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland broke off from Zwangendaba while he was in Nsenga country. Laws, Johnson, Soga, Lancaster and Rangeley state that these Ngoni crossed the Zambezi separately from Zwangendaba. Elmslie says that they were not an offshoot of Zwangendaba's party, while Read, Chibambo and Winterbottom state that they broke away from Mzilikazi, not from Zwangendaba. Fraser mentions a group that remained behind when Zwangendaba crossed the river and says that it went on to the east of Lake Nyasa, but does not say that it later returned to southern Nyasaland. Of all these writers, Read has had most contact with the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, and her account, as amplified by Winter-

²¹ Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 5; Winterbottom, 'Outline histories', pp. 15/; Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 78, 85; Young, *History*, pp. 109/; Money and Smith, 'Explorations', p. 150; Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, p. 171; Field, *Visionaries*, pp. 16/; Rangeley, 'Mtswalo', p. 63.

son, while her first son Mpezeni remained head of segment 4 as if he had been borne by her linked senior. Traditionally, a junior linked co-wife who had borne sons that had been taken over by her linked senior might be rewarded for her services by the formation of her own segment, to which she took her youngest son, and the disposition of sons in segments 4 and 11 was in accord with this principle. Another wife of Zwangendaba who was attached to segment 4 was given her own segment 12 (Mkucweni) in which she lived with two linked juniors and other quasi-related dependants. A lieutenant of segment 4 made his own inferior segment 9 (Cikenkheni). 173 643 644 595

At the next generation level Mpezeni created segment 10 (Loangeni) for his great wife and later established two subsidiary beves of wives in segments 14 (Fumbeni) and 15 (Cimpinga). Within one of these, segment 14, a junior wife made her own segment 17 (Ngiyelweni) and Mpezeni placed another wife in the headquarters of segment 4, in accordance with the custom by which the heir to any large segment placed one of his wives in the headquarters of that segment. Finally, in each of segments 10 and 11, a lieutenant broke out of the headquarters to found his own segment, namely 13 (Tondweni) and 16 (Fafazeni) respectively. Many other segments, large and small, were created but we have now mentioned all the segments under Mpezeni's control which later became the nuclei of counties in the Native Authority system and whose relative positions are shown in Diagram 1.

8. Foreign policy

The Fort Jameson Ngoni are described by pre-conquest travellers as living during the 1890s in a compact area surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country, beyond which were the tribes they raided. It seems probable that this spatial arrangement was not followed consistently throughout their history and that at various times and places the Ngoni came to some agreement with their neighbours whereby they either settled among them or established a settled rule over them. Thus Young, writing of the period 1835-9, says that the Ngoni settled among the Senga (Nsenga). Chibambo, however, says of the same period that the Ngoni 'captured many Senga without difficulty'.²² The evidence is more definite for the period 1860-80, so far as Mwambara's group is concerned. Chibambo lists the tribes conquered by Mwambara in this period and adds: 'After overcoming them the Ngoni acted wisely; they did not break up local rule, or ways of 173 361 721 727

²² Young, *History*, p. 111; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 22.

173 worship. They allowed the local chiefs to govern their people
636 according to their own laws and customs, but under the authority
727 of the Ngoni. They followed the method of governing which
Europeans call "indirect rule". They also took selected children
from the conquered peoples and reared them as Ngoni in Ngoni
villages. Young's account supports this.²⁷ Whether or not this
method of government was wise is clearly a matter of opinion. It
is perhaps significant that for Mpezeni's people the evidence
provided by the present disposition of persons claiming descent
from different ethnic groups suggests that a different policy was
followed there. Chibambo and Young talk of groups of warriors
under Mwambara belonging to various subjugated tribes; in
Mpezeni's area captured men appear to have been drafted into
[561] the various age-set regiments, so that men from the same tribe were
distributed throughout the army and did not form a distinct group.
Territorially, the dispersion of captives from the same tribe was not
173 so complete, for it appears that in Mpezeni's group the major
563 segment settled on the east of the Ngoni area raided mostly to the
727 east, and the western segment to the west, and so on, so that many
of the captives taken from a particular locality were to be found in
the major segment of the State nearest their homeland. Yet even
this concentration of captives with the same ethnic origin was not
complete, and representatives from all the principal tribes with
whom the Ngoni came into contact are nowadays to be found in
all parts of Mpezeni's Ngoniland. We suggest that this policy of
assimilation, practised to a much greater degree by Mpezeni than
by Mwambara, may be correlated with the fact that in Mpezeni's
group there were no revolts by groups of captives of common origin,
whereas in Mwambara's there were three such revolts, by Lake
Tonga, Kamanga and Henga tribesmen.

173 Mwambara attacked the Cewa chief Mwase Kasungu some
721 time round about 1860, and was driven off in the face of fire from
648 guns Mwase had obtained from Arabs. He subsequently came to an
agreement with Mwase whereby the Cewa chief became his
'child' and lent him soldiers armed with guns to assist in Ngoni
raids. Travellers suggest that later Mwase came to an agreement
with Mpezeni as well, but this is not so certain. Mpezeni does
seem to have established peaceful relations with one or two minor
chieftains during the period of early European contact,²⁸ but for

²⁷ Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 39-41; Young, *History*, p. 119.

²⁸ e.g. Casula, a Kunda chief and Macro, who had Kunda and Ncenga
connexions. Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 11; Sharpe, 'Journey from Lake Nyassa',
p. 746.

the most part all external relations were warlike. The State, as it were, was internally an organization of segments and externally stood posed against an undifferentiated hostile world. Even with the Maseko Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, the Ngoni group spatially nearest to Mpezeni, relations were warlike. 173 648 721

Despite this hostility, it seems probable that some individuals from the neighbouring tribes did leave their own country and join the Ngoni of their own free will. I was given accounts of this in a number of family and village histories, and while it is possible that some of those people whose ancestors were captured may now think it preferable to speak of voluntary attachment to the Ngoni State rather than capture, I do not think this can be the complete explanation. In the first place, very many Ngoni of to-day are quite prepared to admit that their ancestors were captured on Ngoni raids, so that the desire to conceal the capture of an ancestor, if it exists at all, cannot be widespread. On the contrary, some Cewa chiefs and notables who are now politically independent of the Ngoni and live in their own chiefdoms will recount with great interest how their ancestors were captured by the Ngoni. Secondly, some of those who claim that their ancestors joined the Ngoni of their own volition come from places a long way distant from Ngoni country, where the frequency of Ngoni raids cannot have been high, even if the Ngoni ever raided there at all. For instance, one village claims that its people came voluntarily from as far away as Fingoe, in Portuguese East Africa. Thirdly, there is a well-known instance of a son and other close relatives of an Nsenga chief who joined the Ngoni and rose to high position in the State. The Ngoni Paramount Chief and some of the minor chiefs are still friendly with the descendants of this Nsenga chief, Kalindawalo, and the story that these Nsenga nobles were not captured but were instructed by their own chief to transfer their allegiance to the Ngoni seems probably to be true, despite a contrary tradition among the Nsenga that these men were taken as captives.³⁹ Lastly there is the evidence of Glave, writing in 1894, who says that a host of villages had given themselves up to the Ngoni rather than submit to the constant anxiety of attack.⁴⁰ Thus provision was made for men and women to join the State other than as captives. These volunteers were treated in the same way as captives. They were allocated, either as individuals or in small groups, to a segment and came under the orders of a lord or lady. The Ngoni lived at a much higher standard [511] 173 167 648 727

³⁹ cf. Field, *Viziilano*, p. 16; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 42-4.

⁴⁰ 86, fo. 329. See p. 68, f.n. 8. See also Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 478.

423 society. This was not so among the Ngoni. We know little about the way in which rights in cultivated and grazing-lands, hunting-rights and rights to water were distributed in the old Ngoni State, but if the present position is any guide, it seems likely that there was no well-developed system of land-holding. After dwelling in 360 any one area for five years or so, the tribe moved on, partly because [311] the fertility of the soil had been exhausted and partly for other reasons. Thus rights to land did not endure; land itself was expendable. What endured was merely the pattern of residential settlement, the arrangement of people in clusters and divisions and villages. Men and women lived where they belonged in the segmentary residential system, and relative geographical position did not determine, but was determined by, political affiliation.

557 Power in the State was thus power over people rather than 631 over natural resources. It is true that cattle were valuable, but 231 even they appear to have been eaten rather more often than in many tribes in which cattle are a form of wealth and investment rather [262] than a regular item of diet. Furthermore, there was the doctrine [422] that all cattle belonged to the Paramount Chief, so that village [643] headmen with cattle in their byres held them, as it were, only by favour of the chief. The principal index of power was the number of a man's dependants. Political struggles were essentially not [668] struggles to control wealth but to enjoy the support of followers. The main source of dependants was from raiding, and hence the [727] allocation of captives was crucial to the working of the social system.

727 Fraser writes of the northern Nyasaland Ngoni, that warriors kept their own captives.¹ This does not seem to have been the usual procedure among the Fort Jameson group. Although some informants spoke as if they, or their forebears, had been actually taken by the person who became their lord, others said that in [643] general all captives belonged to the Paramount Chief, and that he could allocate them as he wished; usually, however, he allocated them to the warriors who had captured them. It was a specific privilege of regional governors to keep their own captives. It seems probable that the Paramount Chief's allocations were made to the heads of segments to which the warriors belonged, for many of my informants were said to have been captured by a few people, some of whom are described by contemporary travellers as generals and war-leaders, and who are unlikely to have made many front-line captures themselves. Moreover, it seems that on small raids [721] organized by the head of a major segment, not on a national scale,

¹ Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 37.

captives were retained within the segment. In later years, at least, small-scale raiding organized by segment heads went on without the Paramount Chief's knowledge and it seems unlikely under those conditions that captives would have been sent in to him. [727] [721]

There is confirmatory evidence from other Ngoni groups. Hodgson wrote of the Dowa group that a warrior who had captured three or more people had one returned to him by the chief,³ from which we may infer that they were at the disposal of the chief. For the Southern Ngoni, who are not so closely related to the Fort Jameson group as are those in northern Nyasaland and Dowa District, Read wrote that the Paramount Chief had a monopoly of slaves taken in war and that he distributed these to successful warriors, his wives and his relatives.⁴ [643]

Cattle were handled in much the same way as captives. There was a dogma that all cattle belonged to the Paramount Chief, but they were dispersed among the different villages and kept in the byres there. The lord of a major segment had effective control of the cattle in his own village and, when he chose to exercise it, in the other villages of his segment as well. When the Paramount Chief visited a village, cattle were killed in his honour and he was praised as the giver of the feast, but in the chief's absence the head of the village decided when beasts were to be killed. A lord appointed his lieutenants to look after his cattle as well as his people. When cattle had been taken on a raid, they were driven back to Ngoniland and then allocated to a lord. [231] [422] [643] [727]

Cattle for bridewealth were provided for a man by his lord. However it seems possible that a large proportion of the marriages made by politically unimportant people were not ratified by the passage of cattle.⁴ [583] [231]

Such evidence as there is suggests that the Ngoni consumed their cattle faster than many similar cattle people and, as with dependants, they captured cattle more than they reared them. People speak of the days before the conquest as a time when they lived entirely on meat and beer. Poole suggests that the Ngoni produced little or no food in their own country,⁵ and while this is plainly contradicted by contemporary evidence, it is probable that they did rely on raiding to supplement their supplies of cattle and cereals, and that therefore many captured cattle were used as food. Thus cattle themselves were a short-term asset and the control of [231] [262] [727]

³ Hodgson, 'Dowa District', p. 133.

⁴ Read, 'Standards of Living', p. 20.

⁵ cf. Barnes, *Marriage*, pp. 7-8.

⁶ Poole, 'Human geography of Lundazi and Petauke', p. 13.

56/ involving perhaps between a dozen and a hundred men, whereas
62/ the Paramount Chief could, so long as the State remained intact,
70/ command the services of perhaps 10,000 warriors.

This unifying effect of the age-set system applied particularly
56/ to the recent captives. It appears to have been through the regi-
72/ mental system that recent captives, both men and women, were
62/ indoctrinated into Ngoni ways and made to feel that they, too,
were Ngoni. In the residential system, recent captives were depen-
dants rather than lords. In the age-set system there was no such
distinction. Men captives were drafted into the regiment appro-
[702] priate to their apparent age, and boys were enrolled with their
coevals. They were called upon to fight in the same way as their
aristocratic comrades, and were offered the same prospects of
promotion, both within the age-set system and in the segmentary
organization, as a result of successful fighting. Many of the well-
remembered segment heads who achieved rapid promotion after
capture are described as being successful warriors.

56/ The annual first fruits ceremony (*akwala*) was organized on an
796/ age-set basis. Although I was not able to establish details of this
ceremony, it is clear that it was the most memorable national
ceremony in the year, and that it provided supernatural sanction
to the cohesion of the State and of the various regiments, under the
leadership of the Paramount Chief. There were dances and mock
fighting between regiments, and women also fought with each other
in age-set groups of some kind or other. Read states that the
description of the ceremony she was given showed much similarity
with the corresponding Swazi ceremony. Commentators on the
[71] Swazi and Zulu ceremonies describe them as strengthening the
army and the kingship and unifying the nation, by a dramatic
exaggeration of the conflicts as well as the links within it, and it is
probable that this was true also of the Ngoni.*

[762] The Ngoni and their neighbours formed part of a wide social
system, and the relationship between them was a political one.
648/ When the Ngoni moved from place to place, the area round them
63/ was vacated by its former inhabitants, so as to leave a dwelling-
area for the Ngoni and a no-man's-land isolating it from other
inhabited areas. These moves were forced on the indigenous
people by Ngoni raids. There were no direct relations between
[72] States, for there was little concerted opposition to Ngoni raiding

* cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 470; Kuper *African Aristocracy*, pp. 223-5; Gluck-
man, 'First fruits ceremonies', pp. 30-3. The Swazi ceremony is called *inkwala*,
and Read's informants called it *inkwala*, but my informants had lost their click
consonants.

and the Ngoni did not seek to vanquish other tribes as states but rather to exhaust them by continued attrition. In later years it appears that a few minor chiefs who lived near the Fort Jameson group did manage to come to some agreement with it, for the Ngoni seem to have raided them only sporadically although warriors passed through their territories *en route* for more distant objectives; but this may have been due to the intervention of European traders. The powerful Cewa chief, Mwase Kasungu, may also have come to some arrangement with the Fort Jameson group even as he did with the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland. 648
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[72]

Thus for the most part the external relations of the Ngoni State were warlike. The Ngoni did not trade with their neighbours, or send ambassadors to them, or enter into alliances with them; they merely killed or captured them.¹⁰ The army was organized on a basis of age-sets, but the age-sets as such did not enter into political relations with their enemies. They merely executed the policy of the State or of the major segment to which they belonged. 648
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3. Officers of State

The residential and age-set systems formed the structure of the State and there was no separate administrative system. There was little specialization of function among those who wielded power in the State, and those who did have special governmental tasks were all the lords of large segments. 642
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The nearest approach to special political officers is to be found among the regional governors. A few of Zwangendaba's followers were with him from the beginning of his journey from Natal. Some of these were his agnates, but the descendants of others have now forgotten what relationship, if any, they bore to him. These early followers did not stand in the lord-lieutenant relationship to Zwangendaba, for in Ngoni usage all lieutenants were captives, or the descendants of captives, of their lords. They were organized in segments in the same way as everyone else, but the heads of some of these segments were known by the special term *mulumuzana* which I have translated as regional governor. Segments headed by regional governors were attached like other large segments to the various royal headquarters, and thus became primary divisions of the segments formed for queens. They differed from the lieutenants of the royal headquarters not only in their title but also in the greater freedom they were allowed in their segments. They kept their own villages separate from the royal villages to which they were attached politically. 631

¹⁰ See pp. 25f.

than were the groups further inland. However, the evidence suggests that no great changes of this kind took place among the Fort Jameson group under Mpezeni, and it is therefore with changes in the external environment of the State that we shall be chiefly concerned. 631
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In this early period, between 1821 and about 1885, there was for most of the time a situation in which the forces attaching people to the State were stronger than those tending to split it. The age-set system, the web of affinal ties, the attachment of segment members to their lord, the reliance of a lord on the support of his dependants, and the external opposition of all non-Ngoni, these all held the State together. Shifts in the balance of power could be made without disrupting the State because the State was continually expanding, and expansion gave it flexibility. The weakest links in the State were at the top, and it was these that were most strained as the State grew in numbers and in degree of segmentation. Under critical conditions, as on the death of the Paramount Chief or when the need for food necessitated a move from one tribal site to another, these were the links that gave way and fresh independent States were formed. Fission in the State led to consolidation of ties in each divergent group, but the same processes leading to further fission began again at once. 178
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During the period of migration the Ngoni flourished. They were successful brigands on the march. Yet they were brigands in a poor land, and despite their military successes their economy remained one of subsistence cultivation, even though others did some of the cultivation for them. They were well organized for war and their enemies were not, but both they and their enemies were poor people relying on shifting cultivation with a poor technology and with access to only moderately valuable natural resources. The hinterland of Africa provided the Ngoni with an area within which they could operate successfully, but this area was bounded by the lands of wealthier and mightier peoples. Towards the end of the century the boundaries of the area began to contract. The Ngoni found themselves in conflict not with subsistence cultivators using hoes and spears, but with peoples using writing and guns and possessing apparently limitless resources of cloth, beads and gunpowder. We now have to turn to the story of the Ngoni struggle with these Arab and European invaders. 167
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648 far less likely to yield its pretensions'. These considerations found expression in the agreement of 24 November 1894, allowing the B.S.A. Company to take over from Johnston the administration of its sphere north of the Zambezi. The Foreign Office stipulated that sanction for the treaties made by the B.S.A. Company's agents was to be without prejudice to Wiese's possible claims.⁴³

The Mozambique Company opened negotiations with the B.S.A. Company with these registered but unrecognized concessions as their asset. Agreement was reached on 8 May 1895. In return for any rights they might have in the British sphere under Wiese's concessions, and conditional on their raising certain capital, the Mozambique Company were granted mineral and land rights in a block of land ten thousand square miles in extent within the B.S.A. Company's territory. The rights of Natives were to be respected. Any rights the Mozambique Company might have in Portuguese territory were not to be exercised. A new company, the North Charterland Exploration Company, in which the B.S.A. Company had an interest, was formed to operate the grant of land. Thus the North Charterland Concession came into being. The whole of Mpezeni's country, except for that portion included in the Nyasaland Protectorate, came within the Concession.⁴⁴

Some thirty-five years later, Mr. Justice Maugham was to rule that this grant to the Mozambique Company could only have been potential, not actual, since at that time the B.S.A. Company did not yet possess the mineral and other rights they were making over. At the time this consideration carried no weight. In April 1895, even before agreement with the B.S.A. Company had been concluded, the Mozambique Company's pioneer party reached Tete. They arrived in Ngoniland in the following year.⁴⁵

4. *European consolidation*

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721 In Nyasaland fighting continued sporadically in an attempt to end the slave trade. From 1891 onwards Johnston's troops fought a series of engagements with Arabs, Yao and southern Ngoni. Mpezeni was regarded not only as a robber with whom no treaties were necessary but also as a partner in the slave trade, for one of the main routes used by Arabs and their African colleagues ran near Mpezeni's country.⁴⁶ All Ngoni raids were interpreted by the Nyasaland Administration as raids for slaves and Sharpe, describing his second visit to Mpezeni, wrote that the chief did a brisk

⁴³ 67, fo. 141-2; 93, p. 48.

⁴⁴ 99; 100.

⁴⁵ Maugham report, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁶ B.C.A.C., iii, 3 (1 February 1896), p. 2, and iii, 8 (15 April 1896), p. 1.

trade in slaves, selling them to the Arabs.⁴⁷ Wiese's evidence on this point is contradictory. In 1881 he wrote that Arab caravans continually visited Mpezeni and that most of the raids were to capture slaves for sale to the Arabs. In 1900, he wrote in one place that some captives were sold to the Arabs and in another that Mpezeni scarcely knew of the permanent slave hunters and that the sole object of major raids was to gain captives to cultivate the Ngoni fields.⁴⁸ Few tales of the Arabs and no nicknames have survived to the present time among the Ngoni, and it is probable that Sharpe was overestimating the importance to Mpezeni of the external slave trade. Although Livingstone knew it, Wiese and Kerr are the only contemporary writers who were aware that captives were assimilated,⁴⁹ for other writers do not distinguish between captives and slaves. Whether or not the raids were made for Ngoni recruits or for slaves to be sold to the Arabs, it is clear that they were often made into Nyasaland and thus challenged the Administration there. Towards the end of 1895 the Collector at Kotakota opened a campaign against Mwase Kasungu, the Cewa chief whose territory lay between Mpezeni and the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland. It is alleged that Mpezeni offered to help Mwase in this campaign, but it seems that no help arrived. On 31 December 1895 the fortified village of Kasungu was captured and Chabisa, a chief who had been helping Mwase, fled to Mpezeni.⁵¹

Chabisa may have been the moving spirit behind the delegation which early in 1896 went from Mpezeni to the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland calling on them to rise with him and Chabisa against the British.⁵² The Livingstonia Mission had already been working among the northern Ngoni for eighteen years, and the delegation found little support. [797]

As well as Chabisa, other refugees arrived from the south, after the First Matabele War of 1893 in Southern Rhodesia. According to some accounts the Ndebele Paramount Chief, Lobengula, was with them, only to die a few months later.⁵³

⁴⁷ Sharpe, 'Lake Nyassa', p. 745. cf. Perham, *Ten Africans*, p. 96.

⁴⁸ Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 478 and 'Geschichte', pp. 188 and 197.

⁴⁹ Livingstone, *Narrative*, p. 385; Kerr, 'Upper Zambesi', p. 396.

⁵¹ Swann, the Collector, in *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 4 (15 February 1896), p. 1; and *A & P*, 1896, lviii, pp. 417, 418, describes Chabisa and Mwase as Ngoni and Zulu chiefs. Money and Smith, 'Explorations', p. 168, say Mwase and Chabisa were brothers. It is unlikely that either was Ngoni. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 144, calls Mwase a Cewa but says he had many Ngoni headmen under him, thereby amending his earlier statements that Mwase and Undi were Ngoni. See *ibid.*, fo. 129; *A & P*, 1896, lviii, p. 412.

⁵² *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 10 (15 May 1896), p. 2; Lancaster, 'Tentative chronology', p. 83; Poselt, *Upungula*, pp. 112-24; 98; 122, fo. 193.

⁵³ Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 292.

1897 and some time later they came to visit him at Fort Young. Deare gave them presents, presumably to gain their support for his own enterprises, and makes no mention of their seeing Mpezeni.⁸¹ Undi was the chief who claimed part of Mpezeni's country in his treaty with Sharpe and who in 1892, when Foà was living in his village, was raided by Ngoni several times a month.⁸² Thus the Europeans in Ngoniland were affiliated not only to European groups in Nyasaland and in England out of direct touch with Mpezeni but also with African groups with whom he was in contact. There was an essential contradiction in the situation in which, for example, Deare was friendly with both Mpezeni and Undi while Mpezeni was at war with Undi. Everywhere, not only in Nyasaland, the traditional Ngoni pattern of external relations was becoming incompatible with their relations with Europeans in their midst.

[72] The leader of the opposition to the North Charterland was Nsingu, Mpezeni's heir.⁸³ Nsingu was at first friendly towards Warton but later his attitude changed. Deare, before establishing the North Charterland camp in 1896, had passed through Nsingu's village, by Ngoni standards an insulting thing to do, and later quarrelled with him, finally flogging him.⁸⁴ Genthe, the German traveller, met Nsingu on a path and only grudgingly gave way to let him pass.⁸⁵ While Mpezeni remained comparatively friendly, Nsingu and the warriors whose interests he came to represent became increasingly hostile towards all Europeans. At the same time Mpezeni's control over his lieutenants seems not to have been effective, as evidenced by his apparent inability to prevent unauthorized raiding. Deare, according to his own account, enjoyed Mpezeni's favour and was almost forced to marry one of his daughters, and yet Mashanga, the second lieutenant of segment 10, twice tried to kill him.⁸⁶ According to Genthe, Mpezeni sent repeatedly for some army leaders who had been raiding and they failed to appear. This may have been deliberate procrastination arranged by Mpezeni, who treated him coldly, but Genthe thought that Mpezeni was only a dummy whose lieutenants did what they liked.⁸⁷ With Deare there seems to have been a genuine difference in attitude between Mashanga on the one side and on the other Mpezeni, supported by Mcekwani, the first lieutenant over

⁸¹ Deare, 'Slave raiders', 4 May.

⁸² Foà, *Lac Nyassa*, pp. 280-1.

⁸³ Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 13.

⁸⁴ Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April.

⁸⁵ *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 13 (1 August 1897), p. 1.

⁸⁶ Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May. cf. Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 470.

⁸⁷ Genthe, 'Mpezeni's'.

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643 between rival heirs even while the occupant of the throne was still alive. The brothers Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi fought for the heirship while their father Mpande was still chief.⁸⁵

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669 The apparent ineffectiveness of Mpezeni's rule may well have been due to the increasing segmentation of the State as it expanded and to the growing differentiation of interest between one major segment and another. As it happened, there was no civil war and the tribe did not split, at least not in these terms. A cleavage in the royal house did reveal itself later, in 1903, after British rule had begun, when Madzimawi tried to take the name of Zwangendaba and was opposed by the supporters of Mpezeni II, son of Nsingu. But by then the form of the State was already determined by political forces other than the balanced opposition of segments. It is significant of the changed situation that Madzimawi did not send his armed followers against the new Mpezeni to challenge his succession. Instead he applied to the Native Commissioner for permission to take the name of his grandfather.⁸⁶

Instead of dividing in civil war the whole country united against the European interlopers. Mpezeni alone tried to protect his friend Wiese. The effective cleavage was not between rival heirs but between the Paramount Chief and his people. He was now a man in his sixties who seemed not to want war and who perhaps benefited more than his people from the presents made by Europeans. The Ngoni people continued to believe and teach that fighting was the proper occupation for men. An attempt to exploit this cleavage was made in 1897 when Wiese, perhaps remembering his earlier attempt to serve Portugal and Britain simultaneously, offered his services to the B.S.A. Company. Forbes thought that if Wiese was given troops, he would be supported by Mpezeni, who would then be in a position to hold Nsingu and the Ngoni warriors in check.⁸⁶ But this plan was overtaken by events.

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721 We saw in the previous chapter that the organization of the State was based on warfare, not only on war as an activity bringing prestige to successful warriors but also on war as a method of recruitment to the ever-widening segments of the residential system. Without warfare to eliminate the unsuccessful and to bring 175
439 promotion and dependants to those who survived, the system could not keep going. It was in no sense inevitable that the Fort Jamson 648
Ngoni and the British should fight; we have only to turn to the

⁸⁵ Gluckman, 'Kingdom of the Zulu', pp. 35-6, and Malinowski's *Sociological Theories*, pp. 19-20; Krige, *Social system of the Zulu*, p. 19.

⁸⁶ See pp. 139 f.

⁸⁷ Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 14.

our task is to separate them out. Yet even in analysis we have to show how each field interlocks with the other two, how events in one field set up movements in others. 178
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The material apparatus used in the various fields was distinct. The traditional processes were decided ultimately by resort to spears and shields. Portugal and Britain fought with artillery, embargoes, customs dues and treaties. The North Charterland fought its rivals with concessions, certificates of claim and share capital.¹²⁰ Mpezeni, who knew how to fight with spears, was asked to sign pieces of paper which would then be negotiable in a property system of which he knew nothing, and the manipulators of which knew little of him. The treaty-collectors imagined a patchwork of stationary chiefdoms spread over the region, each with a chief powerful enough to sell his country, whereas in fact there was only an unstable series of groups of shifting cultivators, each liable to attack from the migrating Ngoni. 439
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Yet despite the differences in technique and despite the lack of knowledge of each other's systems of government, the various groups involved continued to pursue their own ends as best they could. Mpezeni may not have known what a flag was, yet the issue between Portugal and Britain was decided, and decided in Lisbon rather than in Ngoniland. The treaties may have been made beyond the competence, and the understanding, of the chiefs who signed them, and yet the B.S.A. Company did gain control of the country. Mpezeni never made his mark on a document, yet the North Charterland acquired its ten thousand square miles of land. On the other hand, the Ngoni regiments tried to win another battle like the others they had won before, and this time they failed. In consequence of the war of 1898 there was a revolution, a change of structural form, in Ngoni society, whereas in the histories of Portugal and Britain, and even of the B.S.A. Company, the event passed almost unnoticed. [721]
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In northern Nyasaland an analogous process of incorporation within a wider system was taking place. Here also there was an intruding European group and the same distant interest of the Nyasaland Administration. Yet in many ways the chain of events in northern Nyasaland was simpler than at Fort Jameson. In the north, there was only one set of resident Whites, the Livingstonia missionaries, there was no Wiese willing to play for both sides at once, and there was no North Charterland. In consequence the [797]

¹²⁰ cf. Kuper, *African Aristocracy*, p. 24: 'Swazi were subjugated through concessions, a type of economic warfare eventually sanctioned by powerful European governments.'

439 Mcekwani mpanza (Chequani), a lieutenant of segment 10.
578 Among the enemies are Ngoka Lukhezo zulu (Goka), a lieutenant
648 of segment 4, and Kamzembe maiemesa (Camsembe), regional
668 governor in segment 10.¹²² The elucidation of this cleavage is
further complicated by the fact that from 1889 until 1898 Mpezeni
lived at least most of the time not with his great wife but with his
favourite, the leader of the subsidiary bevy in segment 15.¹²³ He
may have done this to place himself at a distance from Wiese, who
had a store at the headquarters of segment 4, Mpezeni's father's
great wife's village, and from the North Charterland, whose Fort
Young was just outside the headquarters of segment 10, his own
great wife's village. There is, however, no definite evidence for this.

Regarding the Europeans for the moment as external agents,
we can see how inter-African relations were affected by them.
Within the chiefdom the most striking phenomenon was the pro-
hibition on raiding imposed by the Whites. It was this which
appears to have accentuated the cleavage between Mpezeni and
his sons and which may have given Nsingu an external object of
attack formidable enough to unite him with his brothers. The
Ngoni State was essentially a military one and each successive
generation of leaders needed to glorify themselves in battle.
Mpezeni at the end of his life, his battles over, could well favour
[721] peace but his sons had still to demonstrate their valour and swell
[178] their segments with captives. The prohibition on raiding struck at
at the root of the State, socially as well as economically. External
relations changed their content, and neighbouring chiefs were able
to visit Ngoniland unmolested. A more significant change of
relation was attempted when Chabisa tried to unite the Fort
Jameson and northern Nyasaland groups of Ngoni against the
Europeans. Chabisa failed, but even so Ngoni re-established con-
tact with the Ndebele after a lapse of some sixty-five years as the
direct result of European action.

439 In all this the Arabs played only a minor part. Some Arabs
648 traded with Mpezeni for slaves, and Ngoni used sometimes to raid
567 Arab caravans. This we know from Deare, who saw an Arab with
Mpezeni and to whom Nsingu related the story of a successful
attack on a caravan. Deare mentions that this Arab tried to
influence Mpezeni against him.¹²⁴ Apart from this, there is little
information on their dealings with this group of Ngoni. The main
struggle between Administration and Arabs was fought out at

¹²² 187, fo. 137. cf. Winterbottom, 'Historia', p. 20.

¹²³ Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', p. 79.

¹²⁴ Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April and 4 May.

CHAPTER I

THE MILITARY FOUNDATIONS OF THE
NGONI KINGDOMS

AFTER the Ngoni settled in Nyasaland their political system went through three main periods of change and development up to 1939. The first was that of pre-European days, characterized by the military kingdoms. The second was the period of direct British administration, when the chief features of the Ngoni kingdoms were latent and unrecognized. The third was the period from 1933 onwards when the passing of the Native Authority and Native Courts Ordinances gave recognition to certain traditional forms of the Ngoni political system. Since, in their early forms, from the middle of the nineteenth century onward, the Ngoni kingdoms were founded on conquest, the maintenance of military power both for defence and aggression was an essential condition of their survival. We shall therefore begin the examination of the Ngoni political system with a chapter on their military organization. Men of the Swazi and of trans-Zambesi clans were proud of the part their fathers and grandfathers had played in Ngoni wars. These wars were recalled to the people in the recitals of oral tradition and in the songs and dances which were part of Ngoni culture. Cibambo, who has already been mentioned as the historian of his people, wrote for me in English the following account of Ngoni warfare in the old days, part of which, written in Tumbuka, was used as a reader for the schools in the Livingstonia Mission area. Cibambo had, as a young boy, seen the preparations for war, and had gone more than once as a carrier for his elder brothers who belonged to one of the last formed regiments.

NGONI WARFARE IN OLD DAYS

¶ To the Ngoni war was like work and his heart rejoiced to think of it. When the old men sat in the kraal the talk that roused discussion was of war and their journeyings. All the heroes of the tribe had received their praise-greetings through service in war. In this, ordinary people and slaves came together, for though they might have been unknown to begin with, if they were heroes in one or two wars the whole country knew them. The slaves who showed their courage and strength in war quickly received their freedom and many also had villages of their own because of the people they had captured in war; others obtained the standing of men in authority. Those who were cowards were humiliated and laughed at, and those who had not entered the enemy stockade or killed a man were not allowed to dance in triumph in the kraal but only to join in the *tigubo* dance along with others.

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were worn by hanging on the shoulder or neck. The bulls which were killed were called *izinkunzi xa impi*, bulls of the army. The man who wore the horns and danced with them was known as a man of valour.

Often the Paramount called the men who had shown valour on many occasions to come to him. When he did so he first of all searched for a fine skin and called a man who was good at cutting out a shield. When the shield was ready it was given to the famous warrior. When he received it he began to dance with the shield while the Paramount and the people there saluted him with praises for his valour. The people in the kraal were told to greet the Paramount's hero and beat on their shields. That dancing was a dance of thanks to the Paramount.

ORGANIZATION OF WARFARE

Cibambo's text brings out a number of points which emphasize that the organization for war was integral to the whole structure of the Ngoni kingdoms and to the peoples living within the kingdoms. We shall concentrate in this chapter on the political implications of the organization of warfare, and chiefly on the part played by the Paramount and his officers of state. The entire war organization was centred in the person and office of the Paramount. He was the commander-in-chief of the army, though most informants agreed he did not himself go out to fight. He claimed the sole right to make war and to declare war, but it is clear from early European sources that private wars and raids did take place, and this effort to centralize and control all warfare appears to have been not wholly successful. The Paramount claimed the right to distribute all booty taken in wars, whether they were waged on behalf of the whole state or of a section of it. Through the exercise of this right he sought to suppress private warfare for private gain, but, according to Cibambo, he did not get all the booty taken, for the text mentions setting aside cattle for the Paramount.

If war was declared by the Paramount his village was the mobilization centre for the whole army. The sections of the army from the districts of the chiefs and the *amakanda* of the *alumuzana* assembled in the Paramount's village; there they danced *ligubo*, the war-dance; they went out from there to fight, and they returned there after fighting for the acclaiming of heroes and the distribution of the booty.

The Paramount worked through two leading office-bearers of the army. One was the big war *induna* whom he appointed and on whom lay the responsibility for planning the campaign and selecting the regiments for different tasks. It was he who bore the onus of ultimate success or failure. The other office-bearer whose activities the Paramount controlled closely was the chief 'doctor' of the army, the man who sometimes combined the role of diviner with that of administering 'medicines' to the army.

Finally the Paramount had the sole right of granting the head-ring to the men of a regiment who had served their time as warriors and were

allowed to marry and settle down in their villages.

MILITARY FOUNDATIONS OF NGONI KINGDOMS 41

from the campaign and the purification of those who had killed any of the enemy. 726

Cibambo and other Ngoni informants had no idea of the size of the Ngoni armies beyond emphasizing that they were 'very big and very strong'. Evidence was forthcoming, however, from early European sources on the size of the armies which, though it can only have been based on guess-work, nevertheless gave an indication of the numbers involved. Dr. Elmalie referred in 1878 to having seen in the previous year an army of 10,000 of the northern Ngoni which went out in June and returned in September.¹ In the *B.C.A. Gazette* of December 1894, reference was made to the armies of the central Ngoni which were said to be, at the time of their last raids, 50,000 strong. In the *Blantyre District Note Book* there was an entry of 1884, giving no numbers for the army but reporting on the raid on Blantyre in that year when the 'vanguard of the army was composed entirely of young men in their first vigour of manhood, who were said to have marched 50 miles in half a day'. From such scanty references by Europeans, it is clear that the Ngoni armies in the field consisted of large numbers, were highly organized, and trained to feats of endurance as well as in fighting skill. The Blantyre reference also brought out the authority of the big war *induna*, who was presented with cloth by the Moir brothers of the African Lakes Corporation as a bribe not to attack the Blantyre area again, and kept his promise. 701 175

Objectives in warfare

Dr. Kuper wrote of the Swazi military kingdom that wars were waged 'to extend the boundaries, to retain tribal independence and to secure internal solidarity'.² After the Ngoni kingdoms were set up in Nyasaland, warfare had the same objectives with the additional one of bringing back captives and cattle. In north Nyasaland Dr. Elmalie, in the reference already cited, wrote that, after the four months' campaigning the Ngoni armies returned 'laden with spoil in slaves, cattle and ivory'. Up to the coming of the Europeans many of the raids and wars took place in the hope of annexing additional territory. Dr. Elmalie wrote in 1878 of the Ngoni dominating an area of 30,000 square miles in north Nyasaland from the lake-shore to the Luangwa river. In central Nyasaland the *B.C.A. Gazette* of 1894 reported that the Ngoni Paramount ruled from the Lintippe river near Lilongwe to the Luvuvwe river south of the Kirk Range. The chief challenge to Ngoni security in the northern kingdom came from the Bemba, and in the central kingdom from a combination of Yao and Arabs. Dr. Laws recorded in 1886 that the Ngoni, in their final victorious campaign against the Bemba, had 721 125 171

¹ Elmalie, W. A. *Among the Wild Ngoni*. Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1899, p. 79.

² Kuper, H. 'The Development of the Military Organisation in Swaziland.' *Africa*, Vol. X, No. 2, p. 176.

721 defeated an alliance between the Arabs and the Bemba in which the
 125 allies intended to dominate all the territory between the Luangwa river
 648 and the lake-shore, driving the Ngoni from their highlands and opening
 all the country to the slave-trade. In the central kingdom, during the
 interregnum after Cikusi's death in 1891, a powerful Yao chief raided
 the kingdom, destroyed six villages and took many captives. In both
 kingdoms it was necessary for the Ngoni to defend their independence
 by constant vigilance and preparedness, especially against a combination
 of Arab slave-raiders and local tribes. Since large numbers of warriors
 were mobilized every year, these trained armies demanded an outlet,
 and the policy of aggression served the dual purpose of raiding enemy
 territory and maintaining a defence force.

727 There was a difference of opinion among informants about the results
 of raids in terms of spoils of war. In both kingdoms captives were taken
 in war, especially young men of military age and women. From tsetse-
 free areas where cattle were to be found, live beasts were brought to add
 to the herds in the Paramount's village and in those of the chiefs and
alumuzana. Ivory for trading and cloth for wearing were two of the most
 valued forms of booty, and Cibambo mentioned the looting of clothes
 and weapons from those who had been killed. From accounts by the
 first Europeans, it is clear that the Ngoni burned the villages and killed
 the inhabitants in the majority of their later raids.

721 If defensive and aggressive military action and the acquisition of
 182 valued forms of wealth were two of the main objectives in war, a third
 was undoubtedly the need to build up a national sentiment within the
 military kingdoms by success in warfare in the first place, and by intensive
 training of all young men in the second, thus integrating the youth
 from conquered units with those who belonged to the trans-Zambesi
 clans. Again and again, in talking about their past, Ngoni informants
 from the Paramounts downwards emphasized the discipline and training
 of the young men in the days of warfare, and expressed their opinion
 that no other training could take its place. It was not only the common
 military training which contributed to this national sentiment and held
 the Ngoni together in a common purpose of preparedness for warfare.
 The *libuto* or age set within the *libandla* or territorial unit, and the *impi* or
 national army in which the territorial units were merged, provided a military
 organization which was adaptable and balanced, and which, through
 the control of the Paramount, gave the main impetus to centralization,
 while encouraging pride and initiative among local and age-set groups.

The relics of a military tradition

648 In north Nyasaland the Ngoni never fought against the Europeans,
 and were not coerced into giving up warfare, but, as a result of their
 [292] contacts with the Livingstonia Mission, they finally agreed to give it up
 voluntarily. When Dr. Laws met the Commissioner near Mponda's at

262 1930's that the Ngoni did not live as well as they might and had, in fact, an impoverished diet, because they did not make full use, and sometimes very little use, of the milk and meat which they had available. In pre-European days, when the possession of cattle was confined to the Paramount, the chiefs and leading *alumuzana*, there was a continuous slaughter of animals to provide a regular diet of meat and *uhubende*, the cooked blood which the Ngoni liked very much. The heads of the big houses saw that there was always on hand *amasi*, the milk curds which was the form in which adults took their milk, fresh milk being reserved for young children and herd-boys. This provision of meat, *uhubende* and *amasi* was only possible for those who had plenty of cattle, and in both kingdoms wars and raids were carried out partly to obtain fresh supplies of cattle from neighbouring and unconquered tribes. As we saw in the chapter on the Paramount, in pre-European days the *alumuzana* who lived near enough to the royal village made a practice of calling frequently, if not daily, and such calls were rewarded by their being asked to eat with the Paramount, and 'food' in those days was predominantly meat. Between fighting seasons, that is during the rains, the young men (*amajaha*) who were newly recruited to the regiments were kept busy in and around the Paramount's village and the head villages of the *alumuzana*, mending fences, making shields, and clearing new land. When they were thus employed they also were fed by the Paramount or *muhumuzana*, who regarded these periodic feasts for the *amajaha* as one of the first calls on the consumption of his cattle. The Ngoni later rationalized this earlier procedure of restricting meat and milk consumption to certain groups of people by arguing that it made the young warriors strong and able to fight and endure hardships, and they declared that the senior men and women who also shared the Paramount's supplies lived long and had great wisdom and strength of character. This rationalization was not only looking back to a past Utopia. It was also based on the argument that Europeans ate meat regularly and that they were strong, both physically and politically.

262 The European criticism in the 1930's that the Ngoni did not make
178 full dietary use of their cattle and their products was justified, but there are two factors to note in this connexion. One was that the number of those who lived well on meat and milk in the old days was relatively small—confined in fact to cattle-owners, women owners of big houses, and warriors. The situation changed after the Europeans came, and a large number of people owned a few cattle and many of the new owners had no tradition about using their products. Among the cattle-owners of the Swazi clans the tradition of cooking blood and making curds continued and both were valued as food, but some of those who had only recently become owners of cattle did not know these practices, and 262 I came across many cattle-owners of local tribes who did not know how
272 to milk a cow. The failure to use milk in the Ngoni diet was due partly

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353 women's. For all ceremonies the men sat on the right side,
 592 and the women on the left, the place of honour for the
 [562] leading man and woman being by the main door-posts. No
 young man or woman ever thought of sitting near them.
 The other place of significance lay between the fire and the
 back of the hut on the right-hand side; it was known as the
 [778] 'place of the spirits', the 'ancestors' corner', where the
 [769] baskets and spears and other ritual objects were kept which
 were used in the ancestral cult. Only the owner of the hut or
 those taking part in the ritual could approach this corner.

In this land, into the cultural pattern of Ngoni village
 and household life, the Ngoni children were born. In such
 villages and homes they passed their earlier years, and grew
 from boys and girls to young adults.

The Ngoni kingdoms

642 When the Ngoni made parts of Nyasaland their homeland
 they set up conquest states on the pattern which they had
 been familiar with in southern Africa. Where they settled,
 [721] they either conquered the local peoples who lived in that
 [648] area, or accepted their submission. Until the British ad-
 ministration was established the Ngoni carried on wars and
 raids against neighbouring peoples to enlarge the boundaries
 of their kingdoms. As a conquest state, similar to that of the
 [162] Ndebele in Southern Rhodesia, the population of the Ngoni
 kingdoms was of mixed origin, some whose ancestors came
 from Natal, some from the territories passed through on
 their northward march, and some from Nyasaland itself.

The kingdoms were organized on a centralized pattern
 [643] with the Paramount Chief as supreme ruler and subordinate
 chiefs under him. The Ngoni code of law operated in the
 [671] courts of the chiefs, and, as they proudly said, 'there was
 [692] one law for all people'. Military service was required from
 [702] all young men, and each territorial chief had to bring his
 [681] quota of warriors to the Paramount's village when a war
 summons went out. Military service, obedience to the law,
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CHILDREN OF THEIR FATHERS

- 648 Africa. All males had to pay taxes to the government, at
177 first in kind and later in cash, thus hastening the advent of a
[651] money economy. Most drastic of all the changes was the ban
[436] on warfare, which cut at the roots of Ngoni political organi-
[721] zation, and at their system of training their young men.
[182] In the Northern Ngoni kingdom, the Scottish Mission
797 preceded the administration by more than twenty years, and
648 were largely responsible for a peaceful take-over of the area.
184 In the Central kingdom there was a brief war of resistance,
in which the Ngoni armies were dispersed and the Para-
mount killed on his way to trial. In this area mission activity,
under several missions, never achieved, especially in educa-
tion, the ascendancy which the Scottish Mission achieved
among the Ngoni in the North.
- 178 As one result of the cessation of warfare, and of school
434 education leading to paid employment, there was an econo-
556 mic redistribution of wealth among the Ngoni. Formerly
wealth had been associated with political power, and the
[661] Paramounts and their subordinate chiefs and heads of clans
had command of large herds of cattle, received the spoils
from wars and raids, and used the labour of conquered
villages to cultivate the land. After the missions and govern-
ment were established, men with schooling began to earn
[871] money as teachers, clerks and mechanics, and so to command
financial resources which were not available to the traditional
leaders. The young men responded to the labour recruitment
[464] which became a permanent feature in Nyasaland from the
1890s, and they went far afield to many types of work.
- 178 It was evident, just before World War II, that the Ngoni
184 kingdoms had had a profound shock from which they never
561 fully recovered, in spite of the recognition of their Para-
[648] mount Chiefs by the Native Authorities Ordinance in 1934.
The older men looked back with nostalgia to what they
called 'the time of peace, when the Europeans were not here
to trouble us'. These older men were known as 'the genera-
tion of former days', because they had taken part in warfare

segment of the residential system was recognized and institutionalized. Furthermore, it is in line with this thesis that, in arranging the marriage of recent captives, no great attention was paid to the establishment of farflung affinal links. Frequently a man and a woman who had been allocated to the same captor, and whom they both addressed as 'father', married one another on his instructions. Payments made in these marriages were small or non-existent. Recent captives were too low in the hierarchical structure to be concerned about reinforcing their position by horizontal ties. Their ambitions were directed to securing promotion by becoming lieutenants of their captors.

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5. *Autonomy of marriage*

The pattern of segmentation of the residential system was continually changing. In part this was due to proliferation downwards, that is, by the process of increasing segmentation between brothers and between fathers' sons. In addition to this process political promotion and death in war altered the relative position of the segments associated with particular people. Marriage itself was a social process which, in so far as the relationship between man and wife was concerned, did not react directly on the residential system. This system was based on patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence and the movements of women, except at the level of the queens, were from one point of view irrelevant to the system. It was the grouping of children round their mother, in contrast to their father's children by other wives, which related the marriages of one generation to the patterns of segmentation of the next. A woman with no children in her house, whether her status was high or low, was structurally irrelevant to the residential system.

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Marriage was also largely independent of the central government. Warfare, not domesticity, was the right and proper occupation of young men, and the age at which men married for the first time was probably about thirty. Informants all stressed that in the old days first marriage took place at later ages for both men and women than it does now. Wiese implies that girls were married any time after puberty,²² but my informants stated that girls did not usually marry until they were aged about twenty to twenty-five. Men and women were organized into parallel age-sets, usually referred to as regiments, and corresponding regiments used to dance and frolic together. Sometimes a man took a wife from the regiment corresponding to his own, but there does not seem to have been any positive obligation to do so. Particular regiments were not prevented from marrying, as among the Zulu, and all the tales of the Paramount Chief intervening in the affairs of warriors are phrased in terms of the chief instructing a laggard to find himself a wife when all his age mates had already married. The chief did however interfere

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²² Wiese, op. cit. 'Expedição . . .', p. 473, and 'Geschichte . . .', p. 191.

[P.17]

CHAPTER II

PROCESSES OF CHANGE

1. White conquest

THE SOCIAL system which we have so far described flourished in an environment in which the Ngoni people were separated from other tribes by a no-man's-land. Ngoni raiding parties crossed this tract and returned with captives, food and some cattle. The only other contacts with the outside world were with Arab slave-traders and their agents who exchanged slaves and ivory for cloth and guns, and with a few white and half-caste traders and explorers. In 1898 the Ngoni army was defeated by a force under British leadership and many villages were burnt down. Very many of the cattle were looted and the people dispersed. A White township was built in the middle of the Ngoni kingdom, the warriors were disarmed, and an administrative system was established involving both Whites and Ngoni. Missionaries arrived, schools were opened, labour recruiters and later tobacco planters began their activities.

We are not concerned here with the total effect of this sequence of events but only with the results it has had on marriage. We can distinguish a number of fields in which processes initially external to the indigenous society began to impinge on it and to become part of it. The establishment of White control brought to an end the Ngoni wars. The building up of the Cewa chieftainships contiguous to Ngoni country affected the whole scheme of values held by Ngoni people at the same time as those values were being altered by the intrusion of White technology, political offices, legal concepts, and religions. The physical dispersion of the people in the face of the British troops was followed by a greater dispersion of men, and later of women and children as well, over the mining centres of Southern Rhodesia and the Copperbelt.

The large villages which formed the core of the residential system were burnt, and their inhabitants never all came together again. At first people lived in small settlements of three or four grass shacks built in the hills or in the bush. Gradually the people gathered together in distinct villages, but their population was different in structure from that of the former villages. The groupings of people which stayed together after 1898 represented the smallest fragments of the residential system, and these small fragments collected together into larger associations which were related to, but by no means coincident with, the larger segments of the old system. Some segments left the area and rejoined the tribes from whence they

Dona District of the Nyasaland Protectorate.

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within about four months of purchase, the money is refunded, unless it is shown that the owner is to blame. In the case of a sheep or goat, this period is reduced to about six weeks. 233 [672]

It is not the custom to hire out cattle, either for ploughing, or for milk. If a cow brings forth twin calves together, she and her offspring are presented to the headman, as the cow is supposed to be an exceptionally good one; and the headman in return hands over three other animals of similar age. 427 [431]

V.—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: MILITARY.

1. *Preparations for War.*

The Ngoni expeditions against the Achewa consisted principally of raids at times when the crops were ripening and they were short of food. At such times the young warriors who thirsted for war signified their desire by dancing outside the house of the chief. After they had danced for three evenings, the chief fixed a day, food was prepared, and warriors were summoned from the neighbouring villages. The *sing'ango* made medicine to protect them against the weapons of their enemies, and as the army filed past him, he dipped a hammer into the medicine; and struck each man on the chest with it. The best-known *sing'ango* under Chief Chiwere was Chimongo, and his name is still held in veneration. 721

2. *Methods.*

The Angoni usually came upon their foe unawares, and attacked with a rush. If they met with a stout resistance from a stockaded village, they surrounded it and camped till lack of water forced the besieged to sally forth. Quarter was rarely given to the men. 726 756

3. *Subsequent Proceedings.*

On their return, all who had killed a man repaired immediately to the *sing'ango* who mixed medicine with goats' milk. The warriors dipped their fingers in the mixture and put them into their mouths. Then they dipped again into the mixture, and rubbed it on their arms and legs, after which they stood up and shouted "O-o-o!" This form of purification was undergone in order to drive away the *chiswanda* or affliction which they would otherwise suffer from the spirits of their dead enemies, and until they were cleansed they might not have any connexion with women. Next day, they burned goats' bones, pounded them and mixed them in water, anointing the mixture first on cheeks and throat and then over the remainder of their persons. After this they proceeded to their homes and, having decorated themselves, displayed their reasonable pride by jumping about before the chief, who sent for a bull to be cooked and eaten. Prisoners were paraded, and when a man had taken three or more, one of them was always returned to him by the chief. 727 [783] [755]

TRADITION AND PRESTIGE AMONG THE NGONI

Stated very briefly, the problem is this: an Ngoni aristocratic minority created an Ngoni 'state' of mixed ethnic units, imposed a national identity on all who formed part of it, and inspired a real 'national feeling' among those who were assimilated. In this article I propose to look at this problem as it exists to-day in the light of white contact, and more particularly as a prelude to Indirect Rule. My thesis is that Ngoni 'national feeling' is based on the traditions of their past—on the story of their southern origin, their trek from the south, and their settlement in their present areas. I shall show how the continued preservation of their distinctive institutions, together with their strong historical sense, gave them a dominant position in the country, which was enforced through their military and political supremacy. This supremacy was first challenged and then overthrown by the arrival of the Europeans and the defeat of the Ngoni military power. The situation thus created is the key to the Ngoni attitude towards white contact to-day.

The plan of work which I adopted at the beginning had as its aim the establishing of certain essential data—namely, to determine the principles of local or territorial settlement in relation to the political organization and the ethnic constitution of the area. This involved making maps of the Paramount Chief's 'country' and of the 'countries' of his subordinate chiefs, showing the areas over which individuals exercised authority and their relation to those above and below them in the political hierarchy. It also involved making a number of village plans, showing the alignment of houses on the village site, the names and clans of the inhabitants and their mutual relations in terms of kinship groups and village organization.¹ In villages called Ngoni villages, that is, where the 'owner' of the village was of a recognized Ngoni clan and where there was a nucleus of Ngoni clansmen, the individuals in Ngoni clans numbered from 25-75 per cent. of the total inhabitants, the average being about 45 per cent. In a number of the villages where no Ngoni clans were represented, the villagers nevertheless asserted, 'We are Ngoni, because we are the

¹ This collecting of village plans was viewed with some suspicion at first as a new way of helping the Government to catch tax defaulters. However, when I promised the Paramount Chief that no one in the locality should see the village plans, he sent out word that I was to be given all the information I needed, and no one need fear the consequences.

TRADITION AND PRESTIGE AMONG THE NGONI 469

returned between the years 1855-1865, to settle in their present habitat. The earlier part of the period was one of exploring and of conquest. The later part was the time of settlement and consolidation, during which the Ngoni 'states' emerged in the form in which they were found, when the Europeans first arrived. N 173 167

The Ngoni in Mpezeni's country, when speaking of this time, call it *chamtendere* (the time of peace). Any white travellers' tales referring to these years lay stress on the constant raids carried out by the Ngoni, the fierceness of their warriors, and their ravaging of the countryside for slaves and cattle. It was obviously a time of frequent wars. Why then do the Ngoni call it a time of peace? I have asked this question of many men of rank and standing and they give one invariable reply, 'We call it *chamtendere* because the *Azungu* (Europeans) were not there to trouble us'. This statement is in effect the key to Ngoni thinking about the days of pre-white contact, and also about the advent of the Europeans. The way in which they speak of *chamtendere* is itself significant. I first heard it during a long recital of Ngoni history, and stopped the narrator to ask the meaning of the word. There was instantly an embarrassed silence and self-conscious grins in the group. The word had evidently slipped out unawares, for later on they told me that it was a word they only used among themselves. Having once been used, however, it appeared frequently in conversations with me, and proved a useful starting-point for accounts of the organization of their own state and the effects on it of the European advent. 'Ah, *chamtendere*', they say, with a deep sigh, 'then we were people'. It proved also to be a pass-word to their confidence, for whenever I mentioned *chamtendere* to a village headman, he and his notables nudged each other, and laughed and said, 'She can know about us'. N 173 829 721

When pressed to be more specific about this 'troubling' by the *Azungu* they spoke of taxes, of the ban upon raiding and warfare, of young men being called away to work, of their land being taken for European farms. These restrictions and disabilities caused by white contact they regarded as warfare, that is, as troubled times, because the Europeans forcibly prevented them from doing as they liked, just as they had done in their day to the surrounding tribes. The conquered tribes, on the other hand, naturally hailed the advent of the Europeans as a time of peace and security. Therein lies the chief N 173 829 721

TRADITION AND PRESTIGE AMONG THE NGONI

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occasion on which he made known any new laws before the assembled leaders of his country. The ceremony was marked by special songs and dances performed only at that time. It was an occasion on which economics, religion, politics, social life and recreation were brought together in a dramatic form in the part played by the Paramount Chief *vis-à-vis* his people. When speaking of these 'good old days' the Ngoni always refer to the *Inqwala*, for it was to them symbolic of the greatness of their *Inkosi*, and of how 'they lived well' before the *Azanga* came as despoilers.

On the subject of warfare and of training for war the Ngoni will talk for hours. Among the many things which they mourn in the passing of the old order, they regret most the military training of youths and men, and the age-grade system which was part of it. They point out how a youth had his appointed companions to whom he stood in a recognized relationship of mutual obligation and assistance, and with these companions he went through the grades of calf-herding and cattle-herding until he graduated into a regiment. The field worker can observe how much Ngoni 'national feeling' was bound up with memories of war days, when to-day they put on their war dress and dance war dances at a chief's village. I have seen Chewa men and women huddle together during these war dances, and mutter, 'Too many Ngoni are here', as if they were still in the days of fighting and raids, while the Ngoni warriors swagger about, swishing their kilts of skins and brandishing their shields and spears with every appearance of reality. I have heard accounts of Ngoni raids for cattle going as far as the Kafue River, into the Mashukulumbwe country, given with such details of the places on the march that I think they must be substantially correct. Even if it is legendary, the recital of such raids still fosters Ngoni pride and distinction, and I have heard an old man who took part in such a raid compare it scornfully with young men going nowadays to Broken Hill and the Copper Belt. 'They go only for money', he said, 'We went for our *izidlodlo*¹ and for cattle to honour the *inkosi*'.

The Ngoni are realists and they admit that while they planted their institutions in the country and maintained most of them, at the same time a measure of adjustment was going on to the local cultures. For

¹ Head-ring, the sign of a warrior ready to marry.

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conquer the Germans as they conquered us.' The Ngoni are by no means unaware of white political antagonism and questioned me closely about present day relations between English and Germans, and between English and Dutch in South Africa. Though they have seen from their own observation that modern warfare as practised by Europeans is entirely different from warfare as they knew it, they are nevertheless interested in war to-day as an 'instrument of national policy'.

It is from this angle that the Ngoni in Mpezeni's country regard the 'war' between them and the British in 1898. It was a trial of strength; they were defeated by superior power.¹ When the Ngoni tell the story of this war they make it clear that just as they had defeated the other tribes with their superior weapons, so it was British superiority in weapons which won the day, because their machine-guns were used with deadly force on the Ngoni warriors. The version of the fighting current in the villages was told me many times, always with a note of awe and horror at the unexpected and overwhelming catastrophe. When the British punitive force camped outside Mpezeni's kraal, the Ngoni war *induna* sent to ask if they were ready to fight. The reply was, 'Wait, the *Azungu* are eating'. Another later messenger brought back word that the *Azungu* had finished breakfast and were ready, and the companies sallied out, and the machine-guns were arranged facing the kraal exit. Then the Ngoni warriors sprang out, holding their shields before them, and were met by a hail of fire from the machine-guns. To their horror they found their invincible shields were no longer a protection. Many fell, the rest fled, and the huge village² was looted and burned. 'The *Azungu* war was too strong', is the way they invariably end this often repeated tale.

Overwhelming though this military catastrophe was, to the Ngoni it is the events preceding and following the 'war' on which they dwell, when in the villages they speak of this period of white contact. 'We are not ashamed for the war', they say, 'We are ashamed for losing our cattle and our land'. They tell to this day how a certain Carl Weise, a German, came up from Portuguese East Africa trading,

¹ In the Report of Justice Maughan on the North Charterland Inquiry he says, 'It was a remarkably well-managed little war and the Ngoni accepted their defeat in good spirit like other Bantu races'.

² Over 3 miles across.

³ In 1883.

THE FORT JAMESON NGONI

175 ten units of different orders of segmentation in the old system and are
 648 now regarded as ten homologous territorial segments in the new.
 631 Thus one village founded for a group of queens by Mpezeni I has given
 rise to two royal chieftainships, another to one royal chieftainship, and
 a third to a royal chieftainship and a non-royal one. On the other
 hand, there is no chieftainship corresponding to the son of Mpezeni I
 who was next in succession to the main heir.

621 There are royal villages in every county. The oldest royal village
 634 in a county is now the capital of the county, and the lieutenants in the
 178 capital are responsible to the county chief. The minor chiefs have
 continued the process of making new villages for their queens, so that
 in each county the chief lives in a recently formed royal village,
 founded either by himself or by his father, and not in his capital. The
 capital is often the biggest village in the county, while the chief's vil-
 lage is more frequently quite small. It is the name of the capital
 village rather than that of the chief's village that serves as the name of
 the county itself. Thus, while in the old days the national capital
 changed with each new Paramount, the county capitals do not alter.
 The new royal villages founded since 1898 have not the same impor-
 tance in the political structure as had the pre-conquest royal villages.
 This change is reflected in the fact that there is now no real national
 capital in the old sense.

692 Disputes in the old days were settled in the village by the head-
 [622] man, or were taken to the regional governor, or to the lieutenants
 of the royal village, for settlement. If the matter could not be settled
 there it was taken to the assembly of the senior lieutenants of
 Mpezeni, whose decision could be set aside only by Mpezeni himself.
 Now each chief has a court, and there is an appeal court on which
 647 representatives from each of the ten counties sit in turn. In the old
 days important decisions were taken by the senior lieutenants, in con-
 sultation with Mpezeni, although the four large royal villages were to
 some extent independent of one another. Sections of the army, for
 [721] instance, appear to have been sent out on raids from a royal village
 without reference to the Paramount.¹ Under the present régime
 [648] meetings of the tribe as a whole are held at Mcumo, a centre established
 by the Administration at which there is a school and a dispensary.
 These are attended by the chiefs and such people as choose to come.
 These meetings are usually sponsored by the Administration, and meet-
 ings to discuss affairs that arise independently of the Administration are

¹ Cf. Gonthier, *A Trip to Mpezeni's*, p. 1.

THE PORT JAMESON NGONI

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The Yao are mistrusted more than any other tribe, and some of the decisions taken by the courts are harsh on Yao. For example, a Yao man who was married to an Ngoni woman had, it was alleged, caught venereal disease from his wife. His wife then applied to the courts for a divorce, which was granted, together with the custody of the children. No bride-wealth had been paid in the marriage, but the husband now offered to pay in order to retain the children. This bride-wealth was refused by the woman's parents. The Yao appealed, but the judgement was upheld, and in addition he was ordered to go back to Nyassaland at once. He asked for permission to return to the woman's village in order to collect his belongings, and this was granted by the court, after first securing agreement between the couple as to the extent of his possessions, to wit, four plates and two beds. This deportation order was made despite the fact that the Yao had been living with his wife for twenty-one years. If a man of some other tribe had been involved, it is unlikely that he would have been ordered to leave the country, nor would the court have been so suspicious of his trying to take away more than his rightful share of the household possessions.

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A Yao, who had a good job in Fort Jameson, once offered 30s. to the Paramount Chief when he was in the town as the legalization payment for a woman of the royal lineage whom he wished to marry. The Paramount Chief refused the money on the ground that the man was a Yao and he was not going to permit Yao to marry into the royal lineage, despite the protest of one of his lieutenants that the Yao was just a man like anyone else.

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The reason that is given for this dislike of Yao is that they are sexually very virile, due to the medicines that they possess for increasing potency. It is perhaps significant that the same is said of Indians, who are also disliked. The Yao are known among the Ngoni for their great knowledge of medicines of all kinds, and the allegation of unnatural sexual vigour may be a rationalization of the fear that the Yao may practise sorcery among the families into which they marry. Another factor that may operate is that the Yao are the only tribe in the region that the Ngoni cannot claim to have conquered.

*Political Relations with Other Tribes*N
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Before the European conquest relations between the Ngoni and other tribes were principally those of raiders and raided. The great season for raiding was after the harvest, when the surrounding tribes

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could be raided for their crops, as well as for captives, and when the rivers did not form such an obstacle to rapid movement as they did during the wet season. Some of the early reports of travellers suggest that there was some sort of alliance or working arrangement between the Ngoni and Mwasi Kasungu, whose territory acted as a buffer-state between Mpezeni's Ngoni and Mombera's Ngoni of Nyasaland¹ but this alliance does not seem to have been very stable.

The British Administration restored or created Cewa chieftainships that now completely encircle the Ngoni except where the Ngoni area reaches to the edge of the waterless and uninhabited Luangwa escarpment. The Administration did not recognize any right of the Ngoni over these Cewa areas, and it is now difficult to discover how much control was in fact exercised by the Ngoni over the Cewa at that time. The Ngoni certainly continued to hold that they were entitled to control the Cewa. In 1913, when the formation of reserves was being discussed with the Administration, the Ngoni chiefs are said to have been disappointed that the scheme would give the Cewa land of their own and later in the same year they tried to ensure that the Cewa to their south, who were to be granted a reserve separate from those of the Ngoni, should be formally placed under the control of Mpezeni.

At the present time the principal institution in which Ngoni co-operate with other tribes under the aegis of the Administration is the Eastern Province African Provincial Council. This body meets once a year for three days, and is attended by delegates from all the Superior Native Authorities in the Eastern Province, as well as by representatives of the Administration. It discusses matters of common interest and it elects two members to represent the Eastern Province on the African Representative Council of the whole Territory, but it does not have any legislative or executive powers. Its meetings are open to the public,² but as yet few people attend and the recommendations reached are passed on to only a small section of the tribe. The delegates to the Council are chosen by the Paramount Chief on the advice of his lieutenants.

There are also other political relationships that unite Ngoni with other tribes. Some of them arise from common residence in an area outside the Ngoni country. Representatives are stationed at the

¹ Money and Smith, *Explorations in the Country West of Lake Nyasa*, p. 152.

² Except on the first day, when the African members of the Council meet by themselves in Committee.

TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NGONI.
GENEALOGY OF THEIR CHIEFS, AND NOTES.

By D. GORDON LANCASTER.

NOTE OF INTRODUCTION.

THESE tentative notes relating to the Ngoni are the result of many years of research amongst the natives in the Eastern Province of N. Rhodesia, with whom I have been in constant contact, firstly as a Government official and secondly as a friend. I have received the greatest assistance and courtesy from the Paramount Chief, Mpezeni Jere II, and I am further indebted to A. K. Jere, a son of old Chief Kapatamoyo Jere, without whose knowledge, assistance and tactful handling of the old indunas these notes and genealogy would never have been completed.

NOTES.

(1) Zongendaba (Zwangendaba, Uzwangendaba) Kumalo, son of Hlathwayo of the Ngoni tribe and his wife, Mquamache Nzima, was born near St. Lucia Bay in 1780 circa.

Zongendaba, when a young man, appears to have shown great promise as a military leader. Hlathwayo, his father, and Ziwide, uncle of his wife, Losiwawa Nqumayo, appear to have been close neighbours and friends, and with other local clans for some time resisted Tshaka. The date of Hlathwayo's death is not known, but Zongendaba broke away from the district or tribal area with a large following, after the second attack by Tshaka on the Ndwandwep Tribe, whom the Ngoni were assisting. Mzilikazi, a younger member of the Kumalo, after this defeat served Tshaka as an Induna for approximately two years, during which time his bravery and leadership, under the eye of Tshaka, brought him promotion. Zongendaba and Gwaza Tole broke away with a following in the year 1823; Mzilikazi followed towards the end of the year 1825.

In the same year, 1825, Souchangane, known as Manukusa, son of Sigode and a cousin of Zongendaba's wives, Losiwawa and Sowers, broke away with a following of Ama-Ndwandwe and entered into Tongaland, Portuguese East Africa, through Swaziland. It is stated by native authorities that Zongendaba had with him girls and young women but no matrons, that they were few in number, that the Ama-Swazi were raided for cattle and suitable young girls, and that these were taken along with them on their northern migration through Tongaland and Lourenco Marques.

It is definitely stated that the following wives accompanied Zongendaba from their tribal area: Losiwawa and Sowers. These women were daughters of Nombhengula, brother of Ziwide and son of Langa Vimba. Nombhengula was a brother of Ziwide and not as is sometimes stated a son.

^ [induna = military leader -- Analyst]